



ANSWER

To a Proposition to Unite with the New Social Democracy.

NO COMPROMISE!

The Debs Party is the Product, Mainly, of the Belief in Some Quarters that the Tactics of the Socialist Labor Party are False, and it is Built upon Principles and the Observance of Tactics Just the Reverse of those of the S. L. P.—Parties Standing in Such Attitude Towards Each Other Can not Unite Except by the Destruction of one by the Other.

The following letter was received by the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P.:

National Ex. Com., S. L. P.:

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 10.
Gentlemen—Will you kindly inform me what steps should be taken to UNITE the Old Socialist Labor Party and the New Social Democracy, which has sprung from the Debs movement, inaugurated at Chicago last June?

We number at least 500,000 members already, and are rapidly increasing in membership.

I fall to discover any reason why the two organizations should not unite at once, as our aims (the liberation of the toiling masses) are identical.

We draw no distinction between sex, color, nationality or creed. We are in this struggle for HUMANITY. Our greatest obstacle at present to the union of the masses of our people is the blind ignorance of the people themselves. But I am happy to say many of us are awakening out of the long sleep of political stupidity, and are beginning to realize that we can formulate laws that will benefit toilers and wipe out laws enacted solely in the interest of the capitalist class.

We have the voting power if we only had the common sense TO USE IT.

Hoping that you will throw your influence in the direction of the "coming together" of our scattered forces, under ANY banner, I am, yours, for victory,
JOHN FOSTER,
Organizer of Branch No. 1 of Penn. Social Democracy of America.
1634 Parrish street.

Political parties, like most everything else, and more so than many, are the products of certain laws. To these laws their birth and their whole subsequent career are obedient. Some or most of the adherents of a party may not be conscious of the laws that dominate it, yet these laws relentlessly assert themselves.

A political party—that is to say a bona fide political party—is the child of a conviction on the part of those who knowingly set it up, or of the social current that gives birth to it, that it alone and none other can accomplish the mission it has set to itself; that it alone is entitled to and worthy of the control of government; that all others are harmful; and that it alone is needed by society, and is entitled to live. Where these principles and views do not pervade a political party, it does not deserve the name of such; it is merely an impure clique gotten up for log-rolling purposes. Apply these principles to the matter that is broached by the above letter, and what do we see?

It was not in the backwoods of Arkansas or along the mostly frozen valley of the Yukon that the "New Social Democracy" was born; nor were the people who rocked its cradle recent arrivals from such uninformed distances. The party was set up in the metropolitan city of Chicago, by men every one of whom knew of the existence of the Socialist Labor Party, its work, its principles and its tactics. With such full knowledge they launched their own party. Was it launched in opposition to all others in existence, contemplating "union" with others only in the way of these others being absorbed by itself and wiped out, or did it contemplate "union" in the way of political log-rolling?

From the facts at our disposal we conclude that the former was and must be the plan on which it is built. And from its premises its position is correct. The Socialist Labor Party holds that the route to the emancipation of the proletariat, and the nation's deliverance from its present and increasingly hellish plight, lies in nothing short of the unconditional surrender of capitalism, and runs exclusively along the channels of the class struggle; the party's propaganda is conducted mainly if not exclusively among the proletariat; it builds upon that class, not only because it recognizes in that class alone the class interests that point to the solution of the social problem, but because it perceives that the preponderance, both of quality and quantity, is to be found in that class. Based upon these principles, the S. L. P. pursues a clear-cut, uncompromising, aggressive policy. It says just what it means; it means just what it says; it asks no quarter and grants none; it marches straight to its goal, unswayed by any "short-cut" schemes, all of which its knowledge of social science rejects as mischievous; and, finally, knowing that in the oncoming social storm a compact, well-disciplined body, thoroughly united in object and means, will be found indispensable, it holds its membership to sharp reckoning, tolerating neither anarchy of conduct nor anarchy of thought.

For reasons that are natural and wholly beyond the control of the party—reasons that are peculiar to our country's peculiar youth in years, together with its peculiar ripeness in economic—the Socialist Labor Party of

the United States has not that over-ground growth to show that our comrades elsewhere have. This circumstance is misunderstood by not a few, who admit Socialism to be the ultimate and only solution. They do not see, or do not want to see, the broad and deep foundations that the party is laying, and its successful work in this direction, a work whose fruit will, in the ripeness of time, grow forth with all the greater rapidity and be garnered for the nation's weal. With their eyes upon superficial appearances, they consider the party weak, impotent, hopeless; they impute this "impotence," "weakness" and "hopelessness" to the party's external and internal tactics; and, consequently they start other parties on principle and tactics that are just the reverse of those of the S. L. P. Whatever minor and improper motives may, and surely do animate some of the founders of the "New Social Democracy," such are the basic reasons for its starting, and upon them it is founded. For instance:

The S. L. P. maintains that the co-operation aimed at by the Socialist Commonwealth is an integral co-operation, a co-operation whose basis must be co-extensive with the nation itself, hence it rejects and opposes all co-operative schemes, whether of small or large colonies, as caricatures of the Co-operative Commonwealth, even as denials of its fundamental principles, and injurious to the movement.—The "New Social Democracy" is launched in the midst of a two hours' speech extolling a colonization plan not only as feasible but as necessary, and ridiculing the attitude of the S. L. P. on that head.

The S. L. P. holds that, while economic power is the basis of political power in a social system, and while it therefore urges the proletariat to establish a social system in which the economic power is in the hands of the workers, the proletariat can not establish such a system unless it operates politically by first wrenching the public powers from the present usurpers.—The "New Social Democracy" denies this, and proceeds to seek first the unfindable: economic power for the proletariat in the midst of capitalist society.

The S. L. P. holds that the capitalist is an idler, maintained by the proletariat, who is held in wage slavery.—The "New Social Democracy" preaches to the workingmen, through its head, its "superb organizer and agitator," together with its official organ, through its praise of such speeches, that the capitalist or the rich are wage earners like the proletariat or wage slave.

The S. L. P. preaches the doctrine that the class interests of the capitalist class compels this class to drive the working class into ever deeper misery, and that not a mental condition of the capitalist class, or of its organs, is the foe to be combated but Capitalism.—The "New Social Democracy" preaches to the workingman, again through its head and its organ, that the foe lies in character, in greed.

The S. L. P. holds and preaches the principle that numbers, if not at one, are a source of weakness, not of strength; accordingly, it will have none with it who does not accept its aims and main tactics.—The "New Social Democracy" rejects this principle. Accordingly we find it to be all things to all men: To one it says that the colonization plan is necessary; to another, it talks against the plan; to one it talks "political action," to another it says that political action is rot, and that its political talk is not meant seriously, etc., etc.

None but disgraceful disruption awaits a movement that so conducts itself. The S. L. P. stands on the principle that the revolutionary organization that is to do the work, must, above all, earn the respect of the people.

We need not multiply illustrations. Those given may serve as samples.

Enough is herein said to show that, even if there were in the "New Social Democracy" something to unite with, in point of numbers, which is not the case, the tactical principles, even, in spots, the economic principles, of the two keep them irreconcilably apart. Neither can consequently honorably unite with the other without that other's surrender of principles that it considers basic.

In such cases men of pure intentions and earnest in character do not fuse. They recognize that not the blurring of antagonisms, but the sharply drawing of the same is the surest way to reach truth, because that is the only way to make it clear. The horse sense of the race, and the nation in particular, is the jury in such cases. It will reach a conclusion all the sooner by the clear-cut exposition and uncompromising standing of each principle—nor can he who looks about fall to see that the nation is reaching that conclusion quite fast enough by rejecting the chaff and approaching the corn.

Watchers of events must admit that, for once, the riproarious James R. Sovereign has spoken to a purpose.

The St. Louis "Conference," "Convention," or "Gathering" of "Labor Leaders,"—each of whom, without exception, has hitherto invariably at each election stood for some branch or other of the capitalist class, and did his best to induce the deluded workers, who listened to him, to vote for the very class that in the mines and shops fleeces them, and, outside of the shops and mines, enjoins them—has met to resolve some more, and display their utter impotence.

In the midst of these endeavors, Mr. James R. Sovereign (G. M. W.) lifted up his voice and spoke:

"I am tired of all these resolutions; I want this body to act."

A request for ACTION from Mr. James R. Sovereign is all that could be wanted to mark the utter inanity, vapidity and tomfoolery of the St. Louis "Conference," "Convention" or "Gathering" aforesaid.

What the Goelet and Seligman Fortunes Mean.

The Development of Society has Thrust Back an Economic Power the Landlord-Class, Once Almighty, and Raised a New Economic Power, the Capitalist Class, now Almighty, and Though Infinitely Younger than the Former, To-Day Sways Society—This Development Establishes the Class Struggle, and Dictates Socialist Tactics.

One day last week the New York City capitalist dailies reported the death of two of the leading "Captains of Industry," followed by biographies of their careers; the one was Ogden Goelet, the other David J. Seligman. The two biographies are worth studying. He who reads them knowingly can see a good deal in them, more in them than appears on the surface.

It is not the purpose here to point out the emptiness of these two "careers." The "career" of the one was to rake in rent; the career of the other was to rake in premiums on notes. The importance of the two careers lies in another direction.

Goelet was a landlord; he was one of the oldest New York families; the land originally grabbed by his ancestors descended to him; when he inherited it, it was the equivalent of an immense fortune; the revenue it yielded was princely, and as a prince this worthy lived.

Seligman was the heir of financiers. To him the inheritance came in the shape, not of monopolized natural opportunities, but of monopolized social opportunities in the shape of cash and banking machinery. His revenue likewise was huge, and he lived in corresponding style.

A comparison of the two fortunes, both New York fortunes, shows that the latter is infinitely younger than the former. The Goelet fortune started two hundred years ago; the Seligman fortune started only sixty years ago. With one hundred and forty years in the lead the Goelet fortune was no further ahead than the Seligman fortune.

The Seligman fortune, born in a capitalist period, itself a purely capitalist production, leaped within sixty years abreast of that of the Goeleets.

The Goelet fortune represents one social period—the landlord period, the Seligman fortune represents another period—the capitalist period. A world lies, volumes lie in the bare fact that the later, the younger child, should so quickly gain a position of equality with its senior, and thereby it calls attention to the further fact that apart from these two specific instances, as a general thing, the kindred of this younger child not only has reached a position abreast but actually ahead of the senior. Capital has wrenched the sceptre from Land; the younger brother actual rules.

The social development herein involved escapes most people. It does not escape them sufficiently to cause them to stumble into the single tax nonsense but it does escape them sufficiently to deprive them from understanding, appreciating and adopting Socialist tactics, even when they yield to the principle that the Socialist Commonwealth, with its integral co-operation, is the only solution to the Social Question.

The advent of Capitalism on the social stage brings in a force that re-divides and re-arranges, re-constructs and re-models society. Capital means that concentrated tool of production, that privately owned, renders competition with it difficult and impossible at a given time. A result of this is the division of society into two main classes; the class that holds the capital and need not work, and the class that has no capital and must work or starve, with, in between these, a transition class, called the middle class, composed of the sediment that the upper class leaves behind in its progress, and that finally vanishes in the class below. This evolution determines Socialist tactics. The Socialist movement directs its propaganda towards that class, whose condition is bound to become unbearable, and whose interests, consequently, direct them to push themselves out of their predicament and gradually to discover both the secret of their condition and the solution of the problem that confronts society—a solution presented by Capitalism and not by Landlordism.

A new "American party" was born last week in St. Louis. The convention was held with "delegates" from nine States, and declared in favor of all reforms under the sun imaginable, except, of course, the reform of taking the Capitalist System by the collar, and flinging it heels over head to its Feudal Papa, who is waiting for the corpse to land and be buried along side of him.

It is pleasurable to learn from the correspondence that comes into this office from all parts of the mining districts that our attitude on the strike meets with the warmest approbation on the part of the rank and file.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

TWO BIOGRAPHIES

What the Goelet and Seligman Fortunes Mean.

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A TRADE UNIONIST'S

Irrefutable Demonstration of "Pure and Simple" Imbecility.

The Basis of "Pure and Simple" Union's Success, such as it may be, is the Disorganization of all Other Trades—This False Basis has Brought the Falsely Organized Bodies to a Point Where they Must Accept What the Boss Dictates in order to "Preserve the Organization"—Illustration Furnished by a once Leading Union.

The prosperity bill passed was promptly signed by Prosperity Bill, and now the following report is seen in a New York newspaper:

"PUDDLERS WILL TAKE LESS. New Scale, to Be Settled To-day Means 10 to 20 per cent. Reduction.

"PITTSBURG, July 29.—Reliable information comes to those interested in the iron trade that to-morrow the scale of wages for 16,000 puddlers and finishers will be settled at a reduction ranging from 10 to 20 per cent. A conference, a final one, it is said, will be held in Youngstown to-morrow between the manufacturers and the Scale Committee of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.

Puddling wages will drop from \$4.50 per ton to \$4 per ton. The iron workers are constrained to accept this cut in order to preserve their union. The iron trade has been in such poor condition for the past six months that to insist upon enforcing the rates of last year would mean a battle that must in the end destroy the manufacturer or the workmen's union, and the odds are against the union.

While there is nothing surprising about the threatened reduction, it does queer the rank and file of the Amalgamated Association do not revolt against an organization which logically must and already has receded to a level of economic impotency. The report says "The Iron Workers are CONSTRAINED TO ACCEPT this cut in order TO PRESERVE THEIR UNION."

Now fellow wealth-seeking, wealth-producers, permit me to ask—whether you be iron worker, shoe worker, glass worker, or any other member of a trade union "pure and simple": If your pure and simple union is CONSTRAINED TO ACCEPT such demands as capitalists may make, OF WHAT VALUE IS YOUR UNION?

Why should you "preserve" AN IM- Such members who hold or seek lucrative office in your union may find it subservient to their individual welfare, or the prostituted prestige of union labor leaders may subserve their political ambitions, but what have YOU—who support such fakirs, to gain by preserving a submissive and economically helpless union?

The capitalist class dictates the selection of candidates in the ward and town caucus, or city, county, State or national convention, and be at the Democratic faction, or the Republican faction of the capitalist party in convention, a subservient tool is carefully chosen, and without regard to who may be elected, then set up a sham battle. You fight, they win, and secure a reliable servant, who in the legislative chamber gives his vote to extend the economic power of HIS POLITICAL BOSS AND YOUR INDUSTRIAL MASTER, and from constantly diminishing wages you contribute to support NOT A POWERFUL UNION, but office-holding fakirs and political renegades, who are teaching their buccooed supporters to keep Socialism and the trade union separated.

Many honest, conscientious, but in economics ignorant trade unionists reason to themselves that trade unions "pure and simple" become a failure only by reason of the whole working class not joining the union, reasoning further, if there were no "scabs" to take a striker's job, employers consequently would be compelled to accede to the unionists' demands; and upon this hypothesis they finally contend demands by the workers would inevitably be followed by immediate concession, hereby rendering strikes a thing of the past. Intoxicated by their erroneous assumption and consequent conclusion, they then exhort the workers to "ORGANIZE, ORGANIZE!"

We sometimes hear workingmen tell each other "you have got wheels in your head"; now, fellow slaves, if that is true, it is about time you got them going.

Is it not true the advocates of "pure and simple" unionism contend that by thorough organization" labor would be resistibly powerful to better its condition?

Then let us briefly follow the "pure and simple" theory from its present use to its logical conclusion. We will now assume the shoeworkers "thoroughly organized," and other trades unorganized. The shoemakers, under this assumption, could and would, according to the "pure and simple" theory, procure more pay for their ore, hereupon the unorganized tailors' old price for shoes—advanced cost labor. The original shoemaker, with increased purchasing power, now's the same for tailoring as before; therefore obvious the shoeworkers' on has benefited the shoemaker, and ultimately injured the tailor and other workers whose pay has not correspondingly advanced.

Subsequently the tailors organize properly, and, like the shoeworkers, procure more pay; a day's labor in tailor shop now buys as much from shoe shop as when both tailors and workers were unorganized. There the tailor has regained by organization his purchasing power of shoes, at the same time as did the shoemaker, injured some other unorganized worker whose pay has not cor-

respondingly advanced. The organized shoeworkers now have to pay old price for tailoring—advanced cost of labor, and find a day's work in the shoe shop buys no more tailoring than when both tailors and shoemakers were unorganized.

This same process may be continued to its logical conclusion, embracing every branch of industry without affecting the rule in the slightest degree—and should every wage worker in America, or the entire world for that matter, be united in a "pure and simple" union, THEY WOULD AS SUCH BE IMPOTENT TO INCREASE THEIR PURCHASING POWER; added to that misfortune they would be worse off for the paying of dues and assessments for defraying the expense of fraud perpetrated upon themselves.

As we have seen irrefutably exemplified by the shoemaker and the tailor, trade unionism "pure and simple" can only benefit one craft by injuring another: born of selfishness, fostered by deceit, economic ignorance is organized into the "pure and simple" labor union AND DEFENDED BY BUNCO STEERING LABOR FAKIRS.

He who advocates the organization of crafts other than his own is either an economic ignoramus or a labor fakir; he may wriggle and squirm at this declaration, but he is INFALLIBLY one or the other, and in some cases BOTH.

Carpenters complain that coal costs too much, and coal miners complain of high rents, but coal is not high by reason of the miners receiving too much pay; nor is house rent made high by carpenters being overpaid; neither is receiving what the other pays.

When the things called trade unions declare, first, that labor cannot receive its full fruits so long as profits are shaved from it; second, that profits cannot be eliminated until the facilities of profit exactions be owned by the producers; third, that the workers should by the Socialist Labor party ballot vote into common ownership that which labor power must have access to; then they will cease to be a fake. So long as one class holds in possession (and legalized by trade unionists' vote) the means which the producing class must have access to, so long can the capitalist class successfully dictate the terms upon which the proletariat may produce. It is therefore obvious, since the workers must pay a tribute for access to capital, the workers themselves must become the capitalists; they will then receive present pay+profits. In this way ALL workers can increase their purchasing power; but "pure" fakery, and "simple" to understand, offers you the shoemaker and tailor plan. Which do you prefer?

Trade union papers please copy. MEMBER CIGARMAKERS' INT. UNION, Manchester, N. H.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., August 25.—Last Sunday Section St. Louis gave a picnic in Hoehn's Grove, which, in spite of the threatening weather, was a success both financially and educationally. The great debate "Socialism versus Single Tax," came off on the occasion, and resulted in a decided victory for Socialism.

Comrade Peter Schwiete led off with a fifteen minutes' speech, setting forth the meaning of Socialism, the condition of the working people, how the masses had lost the means of production through competition, and how they could regain them at the ballot box. He had just time to explain the law of wages when the chairman, Comrade Poelling, called time.

The next speaker, Mr. Percy Peepoon, argued that Socialists should be single taxers, and to prove this he read from the "Fabian Essays" and Marx's "Capital." His fifteen minutes were over before he was able to make a single point for his side.

Comrade Lewis C. Fry was next. He first showed that the quotations from the "Fabian Essays" were middle class arguments, and that the reading from Marx was taken out of its context from the midst of a chapter that could only be read and understood as a whole.

"If I understand the single tax right," he said, "it will free the land (nodding all around). Now, then, by freeing the land you will destroy its commercial value (nodding all around). What are you going to tax if you destroy the commercial value of land?" The fun then began. The single taxers got uneasy in their seats, while cheers came from all others, and time was called.

The next was Mr. J. N. Moser, former editor of the "Courier," a St. Louis Single Tax paper. He claimed there were only two factors in production; as capital was the product of labor, how could it be his enemy? That if the land was freed, capital and labor, under free and unlimited competition, could not be hostile to each other, but would work harmoniously. He said that interest was the legitimate earning of capital. He failed, however, greatly to the consternation of the single taxers, to answer the point made by Comrade Fry (what they were going to tax), and time was called.

Then one of either side had five minutes yet to close the debate. Comrade Fry only used up about three minutes to show how utterly absurd the single tax was by imagining that labor could be benefited while leaving capital in the hands of private concerns; that the Socialists did not agitate against "capital" but against the present private ownership of it, against the system that allowed it to be owned by individuals. He restated that Socialists want all natural resources and social resources that are needed for production to belong to the people—the working class.

Then Mr. Moser wound up the debate. When he got through Mr. Custer, a single taxer, got up from the audience and asked the single tax speakers to

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A STREET SCENE

During these Campaign Days in New York.

The "Gentlemen" of the Citizens' Union Political Party Take the Streets to Agitate and are Encountered by Socialists, a Single Question from Whom Sets the Gentlemen Swarming Like Bees—Unhived—Police Called in, but Leaves the Gentlemen in the Lurch who are Lustily Hooted and Jeered by the Crowd.

NEW YORK, August 25.—The Citizens' Union held a meeting last Wednesday night at the corner of Rivington and Columbia streets, which I attended. The platform was nicely decorated and illuminated with red, white and blue lamps, while the heels were busy distributing cards containing the principles of the Citizens' Union, and asking us to enroll. The meeting was opened by Mr. Schick, a lawyer, who acted as chairman. The other speakers were Lawyer Rosenberg, of the Republican County Committee, assisted by two other lawyers, and one student from Columbia College masquerading as a workman.

It almost seemed as though the speakers were holding independent meetings of rival political organizations on the same platform, so contradictory were they in their remarks. I asked one of the Enrollment Committee if I could have the privilege of asking a few questions, and he said "NO!"

I then said very loudly, so that all near me could hear: "The Socialists gladly answer all questions that may be asked, and I see no reason why the Citizens' Union should not do likewise."

He then held a consultation with Chairman Schick, after which Schick announced from the platform that he would answer questions later on. I thanked him and prepared to listen.

The first speaker claimed that we should divorce municipal politics from national politics, as one had nothing in common with the other; that we have been misled by both Republicans and Democrats. A new and independent political party had been formed, namely, the Citizens' Union, which did not believe in bringing up national questions every election. "In proof of it," said he, "there is no silver way of cleaning our streets, no gold way of running our schools. What we need is more parks, more schools and more laboratories, and not until we get them will we be happy."

The next speaker told us that the workman could never get anything from the old politicians. "We are robbed," said he, "of millions of dollars annually by both Republicans and Democrats. Take our streets for an example of what we can get under reform; though it cost a million or so more than it formerly did, are we not better off for it; they are now so clean that we can eat from them?"

The next speaker was introduced as Mr. Rosenberg, a lawyer, and a member of the County Republican Committee. His address was as follows, almost word for word: "I am a Republican and proud of it. I shall work for my party nationally and for the Citizens' Union municipally. I am not a traitor to the Republican party when I do so; I shall instruct my delegates to the Republican convention to force the nomination of Seth Low. I received a few passes for work on the Department of Public Works, but the jobs are only worth \$1.50 a day. Just think of it, only \$9 a week. I could not give them to my people, so I gave them to the Italians in the lower part of my district. The people in the country get more because they know they ought to get more. With a combine of all the anti-Tammany forces I am sure that Seth Low would be elected, and we would get honest rule. Enroll in the Citizens' Union and vote for the only INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY."

He then stepped from the platform and mixed with the crowd. Some hoodlum stole up behind him and hit him such a crack across the head that had it not been so thick it would surely have been broken.

Lawyer Schick then stepped up to make the closing address. I thought he would not give me a chance to ask any questions, so I stopped him just as he was about to begin, and asked if I could ask my questions or not. He became very red in the face, and was about to refuse, but a few of the bystanders began to laugh at him until he was forced to ask my questions right there. I then asked him the following question in a voice loud enough to be heard by everybody:

"If the Citizens' Union is an independent political organization, why are you trying to force a combination with the Republican party, whom one of your speakers characterized as a gang of robbers, and force the indorsement of Seth Low by the Republican party?"

"Oh," said he, "we did not say that," and he was about to continue by giving us a speech, but I said: "You did say that," while some of the crowd echoed back, "So he did; so he did."

He was then seen to bend down and whisper to one of the Enrollment Committee. A young lady standing by exclaimed: "He told him to get the old man; they can't answer, so they are getting the old man."

The old man proved to be an officer. The young lady stopped the officer before he could reach me and told him that I had been given permission to ask questions by Schick himself. The officer walked away, remarking: "If you allow questions, you should answer them."

I then asked if I could ask any more questions, but was answered with an emphatic "No!" Schick then started to close the meeting by saying we wanted

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THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 2,066 In 1890..... 18,831 In 1892 (Presidential)..... 71,157 In 1894..... 83,123 In 1896 (Presidential)..... 36,564

As, in private life, the distinction is made between what a man thinks of himself and says, and that which he really is and does, so, all the more, must the phrases and notions of parties in historic struggles be distinguished from their real organizations and their real interests, their notions and their reality.

MAX.

LABOR DAY.

We do not recollect a single "Labor Day" since the foundation of the festival, when its approach cast a weaker shadow before it, or its holding seemed so indifferent.

"Labor Day" fell, soon after its start, into the hands of the "pure and simple" school. The fate of that school is its fate. The broken up, hopelessly cut up, nerveless, dejected posture, that "pure and simple" is in, and keeps those whose ears and eyes it still has, is reflected in the "Labor Day" that is tomorrow; it has been reflected from year to year more plainly;—and the end is not yet.

But, while this is a very noticeable fact, noticeable is also the other, that the fervid spirit of New Trade Unionism, kindled at the fires of the International May Day, is in many places throwing such spirit in the Labor Day celebrations that bid fair to redeem the occasion from its present slough.

More than one Section of the S. L. P., in common with progressive organizations that still are hampered by old affiliations, or with S. T. & L. A. organizations will to-morrow keep alive the fires of proletarian aspirations, and by their attitude help to brighten the dawn of that new day, that is now fast approaching, when the economic movement of the working class in this country will have risen to the level of its mission, and, hand in hand with its political manifestation, keep tread with the march of the proletariat everywhere else towards its deliberation from chattel slavery.

TOO MUCH, OR TOO LITTLE.

Last week the New York Chief of Police Conlin withdrew from office. In retiring he said:

"My retirement is due entirely to my loss of eyesight and to my poor health. I have worked hard and needed rest. Crawling on to sixty years of age, after forty-two years of labor, I feel as if I ought to spend the rest of my life in peace."

As he reached the age limit, his application was granted, and from now on till his death he will receive a pension of \$3,000 per annum.

This sum is much too little, or much too big.

He who has worked forty-two years for society; who, in its service has lost sight and health, has certainly, directly or indirectly, produced or helped to produce wealth enough to enable him to retire from work with a stipend large enough to preserve the full dignity of age not only, but to partake of the full mead of enjoyment that his remaining days in life may require as a civilized man, in a civilized community, in a country of unbounded wealth. If ex-Chief Conlin, of the Police Department, did bestow a lifetime of useful services to society, then a \$3,000 annuity is an insult, it is a disgrace both to the giver and him to whom it is given: it is too little.

But was the work of ex-Chief Conlin a work that aids society in the production of wealth, a work that pushes society on to a higher, better plane? No. The police are needed only as an evil required by another evil. Where all have their own, none is in danger of being deprived of what is his; at any rate, even if an exceptional mental monstrosity should turn up in such society as to covet and take what is others', he would be so exceptional an apparition as to need no vast armed machinery to afford protection against him. In our present social system, however, the large majority are robbed of what is theirs; the plunder is held and enjoyed by a frail minority; rapine becomes a "feature of human nature"; and the misery thus inflicted becomes so vast and tangible a force, so productive of violence, that an extensive body of men is requisite to protect the plunderers in their booty. It is in this barren "work" that ex-Chief Conlin exerted himself, lost eyesight and health, and from which he now retires. For such ser-

vices a \$3,000 annuity is too much. At the retirement of such a man, the motto should rather be: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Lincoln, Neb., "Independent" has a way of reasoning that, for its candor, deserves credit. It has a statistical article that starts this wise:

"The last legislature was composed of 66 Populists, 29 Democrats, 4 Silver Republicans and 49 Republicans."

This it makes the basis of an indictment of the executive. And what is that indictment? Here it is:

"The Populists were entitled to 66 per cent., the Democrats to 29 per cent., and the Silver Republicans to 5 per cent. of (what?) of the PATRONAGE AND SPOILS."

For the candor of the admission that 66 Populists in the legislature does not mean, as pre-election speeches would suggest, a 66-Populist-power exercised in saving the working class, and incidentally the world also, but a 66-power to suck-up pap for the private benefit of individual politicians.

This fact is no secret; its admission deserves credit, all the credit that is due to a rogue who pleads guilty and saves the county the expense of a trial.

R. Graham Rudd, writing in the Detroit, Mich., "Metal Polishers," etc., Journal," puts the case mildly, though correctly, as far as he goes:

"That the inactivity and indisposition of the officers of the A. F. of L. to assume an aggressive though wise policy looking towards accomplishing something to relieve the vast army of unemployed in this country has put the Federation in a very bad light with the workers, goes without saying."

The New York "Mail and Express," together with all the other prosperity boomers, had better appoint a clerk as supervisor of "give-aways," or harmonizer of contradictions. For instance, the same issue that contains this editorial item:

"Business is improving so rapidly that the great railway companies can hardly get enough cars to carry the freight. With tremendous shipments of grain from West to East and a correspondingly large movement of merchandise from East to West, the railroads are making money on every turn of the wheels."

"Manufacturers in different lines of industry are increasing the pay of their employees here and there throughout the country without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. The audacity of these employers in going ahead with the wage-boosting process without consulting the wishes of the European free traders is little less than a studied affront to every mugwump in the land."

Contains also this item: "FREIGHT HANDLERS' STRIKE. Pennsylvania Railroad Employees Object to Having Their Wages Cut."

yards of the Pennsylvania Railroad on the meadows in Kearney this morning. When the 150 handlers reported for work Yard Superintendent Charles Holden announced that he had received orders to reduce the wages of the men 10 cents a day. They received from \$1.50 to \$2 for their work.

The men protested and went on strike. Numerous conferences were held between the strikers and the superintendent, and the latter explained that business was bad, which caused the reduction. He said that if the men did not consent to work, many would be discharged. This caused them to capitulate, and they returned to work about 10 o'clock."

No doubt the clerk in charge of harmonizing such simultaneous contradictions would have work enough to keep him busy till his tongue hangs out of his mouth.

The Johnson, R. L., "Beacon" makes this correct estimate:

"Here everything is ripe for the Co-operative Commonwealth—except the minds of the people! We have all the machinery, all the natural resources, all the skill, all the drill in the co-operation and organization, and all the political power that is necessary for the beginning of the Co-operative Commonwealth. And yet our people do not want it—or rather do not know that that is what they want. With patience and courage and intelligence, this great, ignorant and suffering child—the working class of America—must be taught where it is, why it is there, and the way out."

The following passage from an article on "American Forests," in last month's issue of the "Atlantic Monthly," throws light upon what lies at the bottom of "vested rights" by illustrating some of the methods by which the capitalist class acquires these vested rights:

"Under the timber and stone act of 1878 any citizen of the United States could take up 160 acres of timber land, and by paying two dollars and a half an acre for it, obtain title. There was some virtuous effort made with a view to limit the operations of the act by requiring that the purchaser should make affidavit that he was entering the land exclusively for his own use, and by not allowing any association to enter more than 160 acres."

"Nevertheless, under this act wealthy corporations have fraudulently obtained title to 10,000 to 20,000 acres or more. The plan was usually as follows: A mill company, desirous of getting title to a large body of redwood or sugar pine land first blurred the eyes and ears of the land agents, and then hired men to enter the land they wanted, and immediately deed it to the company after a nominal compliance with the law, false swearing in the wilderness against the government being held of no account. In one case which came under the observation of Mr. Bowers, it was the practice of a lumber company to hire the entire crew of every vessel which might happen to touch at any port in the redwood belt, to enter 160 acres each, and immedi-

ately deed the land to the company, in consideration of the company's paying all expenses and giving the jolly tars 50 dollars apiece for their trouble."

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen" reads this correct lecture to an economic heathen:

"We hold that those who control the wealth of a nation, rather than the money, rule the country. The great trusts and corporations, by reason of being monopolies, control its destiny, and money is merely one of their tools. The Standard Oil Trust, for example, has a grip on the American people—not because we have a gold standard, but for the reason that it possesses immense capital, viz., land and tools of production and distribution. Now, if the greenback theory is correct, that when the volume of money is doubled, the value of property is likewise doubled, then the Standard trust will wield twice the power that it does now, while the propertyless workmen will be at a still greater disadvantage, for their wages cannot rise proportionately."

The New York "Sun" does not seem to realize that it portrays to perfection the two warring political parties, which it alternately supports, and excellently describes the difference between them in the following passage on the two Spanish capitalist political parties:

"The late General Salamanca, who was a wit of great fame in the court, is quoted as explaining to an English gentleman in Madrid the substantial differences between Spanish Liberals and Conservatives."

"The Liberals' said General Salamanca to the astonished foreigner, 'are assassins and great robbers; the Conservatives are robbers and great assassins.'"

There can be no doubt as to what sort of a workman the Dayton, O., "Workman and Farmer" is seeing. It heads its editorial column with "Republican State Ticket."

The Waco, Tex., "Brann's Iconoclast," a fusion pop, berates its middle-of-the-road cousins in this slap-dash style:

"The middle-of-the-muck Pops, to the number of a few dozen, have met, conferred, swapped spit, scrapped, wharfed, resolved, perorated, waved their ears as a sign of defiance to all principalities and powers, and returned weary and worn with their malar exercise to the dry goods boxes and slab seats of the cross-roads, convinced that the country is now safe from destruction at the hands of those dread enemies of the people, Marion Butler and W. J. Bryan. Just as Uncle Sam was about to go into the Grand Canyon and smash himself to smithereens upon the cruel boulders of bimetalism and rip out his viscera on the jagged rocks of tariff reform, Miltonius Park, the patriotic paladin of our beloved Texas, seized him by the coat-tails, braced his protrusive heels against the brink and lustily howled for help. Nor did his wild yodel fall upon unheeding ears, for up rose Cryptogram Donnelly, Keep-Off-the-Grass Coxey, Caught-in-a-Lie Bateman, and other despising patriots."

"The dog might well be proud to lift a leg, and rushed wildly to the rescue, and all tugged and sweat at their task of love until their tongues hung out and were trampled on, and their facial muscles ached ere they could drag the indiscreet gentleman in the high-water pants and catasteric cutaway from the yawning chasm. So fierce was the patriotic emotion that some of the rescuers even fell a fighting among themselves."

We endorse by reproduction this well deserved lashing of the properly called "Middle-of-the-Muck" Pops, because, by their very attitude of seeming independence, they encumber the road and may deceive others. As to the "One-side-of-the-Muck" Pops, for whom the "Iconoclast" enthuses, they need no further notice, or no special notice: they have united openly and have become incorporated with one of the well known wings of capitalist politics, and, consequently, come regularly under the lash, without special mention, every time we lash the silver mine barons brigade of labor fleecers.

We learn with pleasure from a letter by a scatter-brained Briton named Walter G. Treacher, in the London "Justice," that he has sent to the paper "20 copies of the Coming Nation," to prove the latter's Socialism. We hope our comrades of "Justice" will muster up the requisite patience to read the trash; they will need no better evidence of the "Coming Nation's" inanity, confusion of thought and catch-penny lineaments.

"Public Opinion" makes its own reproduction, the following passage from Bishop Horne, and thereby brightens itself under the full condemnation of mischievous ignorance that the passage and the Bishop deserve:

"The follies, vices, and consequent miseries of multitudes, displayed in newspaper, are so many admonitions and warnings, so many beacons, continually burning, to turn others from the rocks on which they have been shipwrecked. What caution likely to be more effectual against gambling and profligacy than the mournful relation of an execution, or the fate of a despahshipwrecked. What caution is likely, necessity of economy than an auction, estates, houses and furniture? 'The fate of morales?' There is no need of Huteson, Smith or Paley. Only the newspaper and consider it well; read it, and it will instruct thee."

So then murder and suicide are children of only profligacy and gambling! So then economy is enough to prevent an auction sale!

We are much more inclined to that such utterances in the pulpit, the press are the finest lectures imaginable on the dense perverseness of the two mouthpieces of capitalism, who, such twaddle, seek to conceal the

that the social system on which they are parasites dries up the fountains of all virtue, renders economy a mockery, humane instincts ridiculous, morality vain because, by the concentration of the means whereby to earn a livelihood in the hands of a few, economy is made useless, vice is encouraged, and the instincts of beasts of prey are cultivated among men.

The following, if it appeared in a British Socialist paper, would deserve praise for good judgment, tersely expressed; coming, however, from a non-Socialist, in fact, an anti-Socialist, the London "Spectator," it exemplifies the capacity of the capitalist spokesmen of one nation to perceive the beam in an other capitalist nation's eye, without seeming to have any inkling of the beam in their own nation's eye. For all these reasons the passage is interesting:

"It is certainly mortifying to find, after more than a century has passed away, corruption and Mammon enthroned, and the very principles on which the Republic is based trampled under foot. It is not pleasant to see millionaires dictating their terms to subordinate legislative bodies, and the whole policy of a great nation arranged expressly to coin wealth for a privileged and protected few. This is assuredly not the democracy whose advent hopeful dreamers were looking forward a hundred years ago. The United States have scarcely succeeded in gaining the deep respect of the world, and have certainly not secured its affectionate regard. We cannot look with veneration or love on a nascent oligarchy of oil, sugar, lumber and coal magnates, who pull the wires and make the political puppets dance to their sinister piping. We do not ignore the millions of honest citizens who hate this state of things; but their apparent inability to overthrow it does not increase our belief in the political forms of the Republic. One would be inclined to say that the United States had the very greatest chance ever offered by Providence to mankind, and that up to the present the opportunity has not been embraced. We know that the American nation is still in the making, that it is not a definitely finished product, like France or England, that the building is scarcely more than half completed, and that the scaffolding is still up, and we make allowance for the fact. But we cannot also help seeing that bad material is being used, that dishonest workmanship is too palpable, that something dangerously approaching disaster is being courted. We do not like the present aspect, and we feel apprehension as to the future. We feel that the Sibylline Books may be closed before a worthy choice is made."

The New York "Times" is publishing articles to show that in silver standard Mexico women and children are receiving from 18 to 25 cents a day; carpenters, painters and stonecutters from 75 cents to \$1.25 a day; bricklayers, masons, plasterers and teamsters much less, etc., etc.—all to warn the workingmen against Mexico and its "standard."

There is no danger of our workers being misled by the mine barons' standard. The danger lies in their sticking much longer to the gold bugs' standard. If the "Times" really has at heart the workmen of this country, it should use up its space in showing to them how under the gold bugs' standard, as well as under that of the silver mine barons, the workingmen's share in their own products steadily declines; that the cause must, therefore, be something in common to both gold and silver; and that that cause is the private ownership of the land and the tools with which to work—in other words, the CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

H. B. A., London, Ont.—Prince Krapotkin is as much of a "thoroughgoing Socialist" as Johann Most or Bakounin. To define the exact shade of difference between one Anarchist and another were as difficult as to tell the difference in shadings of flitting shadows. It is a feature of Anarchist "schools" that none knows just where it is at, among themselves; the only thing they are perfectly clear upon is that they are unfit to cope with the Socialist movement, and hence, that the Socialist movement ought to be destroyed.

You can not place Krapotkin, or any other Anarchist for that matter, in any of their "schools" without he substantially fits, nor can you take him out of any without a substantial misfit. It is sport to try it.

J. H. S., Philadelphia.—We can pledge to you our solemn word that we need no reminders. Truth to say, the matter lacks all actuality; its season, when its publication would be timely, has not yet come around. We assure you we are on the lookout for that season; when it comes it won't escape us, and your pretty article will appear.

To whomever it may concern.—We can't tell where the article "Protection for Farmers" is printed. Your clipping has cut out the information needed in this case. Friends who send newspaper clippings should always state the paper's name, place of publication and date. The clipping is otherwise frequently useless.

E. O. W., Potterville, Cal.—It is simply reasoning in a circle to assert with regard to the people, whom we with arguments show are not Socialists, that "they are Socialists." This is all a waste of time. If you disagree with us, give us your reasons by joining issue with the facts that we allege. It is only thus that earnest disputants can make progress.

S. L. P. Supplies.

Platform and constitution, 50 cents per 100. Due cards, 40 cents per 100. Application cards, 40 cents per 100. Address all orders for supplies to the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, Henry Kuhn, 184 William Street, New York, N. Y.

WELL FOR VIRGINIA.

Socialists Resent a Gutter-Snipe Reporter's "Joke."

The following appeared, headed by an apology, in the Richmond, Va., "State":

Manchester, Va., August 27. To the Editor of "The State"—In your issue of Wednesday under the caption "A Candidate Hard Up," I notice the following item:

"Mr. Quantz, the candidate on the Socialist ticket for Governor, was in the city yesterday peddling suspenders. It was a somewhat strange sight in Virginia to see a candidate for this high office with a box of suspenders soliciting purchases."

It was, no doubt, intensely funny to the person who wrote the above paragraph to see so intelligent a man and so competent a printer as Mr. J. J. Quantz "peddling suspenders." Those readers of your paper, however, who are aware of the hard struggle that many an honest workman has to keep the wolf from the door will fall to see anything degrading in Mr. Quantz's adopting so honest a means of earning a livelihood, should he decide to do so. Happening to know all the circumstances in connection with what furnished the "strange sight" to "The State's" reporter, I will tickle his risibilities a little more by giving him the facts in the case.

At a recent meeting of Section Richmond of the Socialist Labor party, a communication was received from a brother Socialist in Massachusetts, which conveyed the information that the writer was a German of titled rank who had been driven forth an exile from his native land and his possessions confiscated because he was a Socialist and believed in the brotherhood of man. He came to this country several years ago, learned a trade, and became a citizen of the United States. Falling a victim to the industrial depression, like millions of others, our German friend, some months ago, found himself in the army of the unemployed. After finding every avenue leading to his usual employment closed to him, he began the manufacture of suspenders in a small way, and sent out an appeal to the members of the Socialist Labor party throughout the United States to assist him in disposing of his product. A favorite motto among Socialists being "All for each, and each for all," our local Section of the Socialist Labor party immediately accepted the proffered services of Mr. Quantz in aiding our Massachusetts Comrade to earn his daily bread.

But the strangest sight of all to the reporter was that of "a candidate for the high office of Governor with a box of suspenders on his arm soliciting purchases." I agree with "The State" on this point: Mr. Quantz is the first gubernatorial candidate I have heard of in the Old Dominion who would render practical assistance to a needy workman. Just imagine Mr. Chas. T. O'Ferrall doing such a deed of charity! Why, the very idea is nauseating—especially to "The State" man. No; a party prostituted to capitalism as the Virginia Democracy is, would spurn as its candidate one who was in sincere sympathy with workmen.

Mr. Quantz may be a "candidate hard up," as your reporter says, but the Commonwealth of Virginia does not hold with the worse than more honest, braver or better citizen. He is one of the staunchest trade unionists I have ever known, and he has made more sacrifices for union principle than any unionist whose name I can recall. He is well posted on public affairs; has a comprehensive grasp of social and economic problems, and, if elected as Governor, would not trample the Constitution under foot by sending State troops to coerce law-abiding men into working for a starvation wage.

Being myself a member of the Socialist Labor party, and in thorough accord with its doctrine, I shall, if spared till election day, deposit my vote for Mr. Quantz, and do so with a greater degree of pleasure and satisfaction than I have ever experienced in casting a ballot for any candidate. I would earnestly advise all workmen who would better their class condition to cut adrift from the old parties, which have been the means of enslaving them, and vote for the Socialist Labor party, which is pledged to wipe out the last vestige of the competitive system, the breeder of crime, misery and death.

Much as Socialism has been misrepresented by plutocratic newspapers and politicians, "the people which walked in darkness" are beginning to see the light; and ere long "The State's" reporter will see a stranger sight than a gubernatorial candidate "peddling suspenders"—he will behold a mighty wave of Socialism sweeping over these United States of monopoly, which will be speedily followed by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. ALEX. B. McCULLOCH.

THE BITTER CRY FROM INDIA.

Oh, my brothers, hear our brothers in their trouble over-sea; Harken how they cry to us and groan, In this year of ninety-seven, called a year of Jubilee By jingoes and lickspittles round the throne!

Weak and worn by pestilence, with famished lips they cry— "Better our babies perished in the womb Than that charity of Hypocrites should mock them ere they die, Or raise them for the bullet's kinder doom!"

"Alexander came against us (and he was not the first), Then Mahmud came, and after Ghenghis Khan Came Tamerlane the Tartar; but of conquerors accrue Most cursed be this Christian Englishman!"

Let us send now to our brothers, in their trouble over-sea, And say we feel their miseries our own, And we stand for them in England, this year of Jubilee.

'Neath the shadow of a shoddy Empire's throne! G. W. S. (Walworth). London "Justice."

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.



UNCLE SAM'S BROTHER JONATHAN.

"Brother Jonathan (with a 'cute twinkle in his eye)—Do you know, I think I have caught on to a trick of these capitalistic papers?"

Uncle Sam—It is about time you did, B. J.—I see through this Klondyke game of theirs.

U. S.—What do you see?

B. J.—They are booming it up for all it is worth.

U. S.—Hey!

B. J.—Don't you think they are?

U. S.—No.

B. J.—Well, I think so.

U. S.—What makes you think so?

B. J.—Why, what I read in the papers.

U. S.—You do? And why should they?

B. J.—"Why should they?" What a question. That's just the rub, the point I've caught on to. I'll tell you.

(Whispering) Those fellows have got up mining companies, they have stock in them; and now they are booming the Klondyke for all it is worth to make workmen think that if they only go there they will become rich, and when the workmen are there, they will find they can't get anything, and will be glad to work for starvation wages in the Klondyke mines. Don't you see how these foxy capitalists can get fine hot chestnuts out of that Klondyke frying pan with the workers for cats-paws? And the cuteness of the scheme to make the workers pay their own fare to the frying pan, too. It heats anything I ever saw!

U. S. looks at him.

B. J.—Don't you agree?

U. S.—No. Your notion is quite clever in one way, but it fails because it so happens that these capitalist papers are not now doing any booming of the Klondyke; just the reverse.

B. J.—They ain't!!

U. S.—No. They are now trying to frighten the workers away. They are talking of "Starvation in the Klondyke," "Suffering in the Klondyke," "Famine in the Klondyke," "Distressing Stories of Parties going to the Klondyke," "Anxious Miners' Expedition by Water, Boat Capsizes, Four Drowned"—and so forth. Now, do you imagine that all this is exactly true, is not highly colored, and is given only for the sake of the news?

B. J.—What else should it be for?

U. S.—Why, to keep the workers here.

B. J.—Keep them away from working the Klondyke mines that the capitalists are gobbling up?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—And let those mines rot?

U. S.—No.

B. J.—(Impatiently)—You are crazy.

U. S.—If you have a mine here right under your own thumb and the thumbs of your soldiers and judges, etc., that is yielding you untold wealth, and you get a mine away off, far from your own thumb and the thumbs of your soldiers, your judges, and your political heelers, where your workmen could have very much their own way and keep what they produce without fear of being enjoined out of sight or shot down—would you like them to leave the nearby mine, and go to the far off one?

B. J.—Not exactly.

U. S.—You would not all.

B. J.—But there are more workmen lying around than I need. Those who are engaged here won't go; it is only those who are not at work who would go; in that way the capitalists can keep all they now have and utilize the workers whom they have no chance to fleece, because out of work.

U. S.—This is where you are again mistaken.

B. J.—In this too?

U. S.—Yes; you are caught by another cog in the capitalist wheel.

B. J.—Which?

U. S.—It isn't only the workman at work who supports the capitalist fabric. The workman out of work performs a very important role in the mechanism of capital.

First—If there are no workmen out of work, the wages of those at work would be higher and steadier; the supply would not exceed the demand. The more workmen there are out of work the larger is the excess of the supply over the demand, consequently the lower is the price of labor, or wages.

The pure and simple union has an inkling of this fact, but not seeing it in all its bearings, it sought to counteract it by trying to "organize the whole trade." But the machine, with its rapid development in all trades, and consequent wholesale displacement of labor, knocked the bottom from that "pure and simple" notion.

Second—The capitalist must have idle men at hand. If there are none he can't increase his production at the demand of the market. With a goodly number of unemployed, he can, when orders are plentiful, fill them; when they slack up he can dismiss his hands, and if he knows that they are there he will scurry for more orders.

The capitalist system would be hampered if it were not for the unemployed. This blot upon humanity, the necessities of the capitalist system, of the Christian, noble "eternal" capitalist system.

B. J. Looks pensive.

U. S.—Don't you make any mistake about it. You are not wanted in the Klondyke by the capitalists. Whether you are at work or not, they want you and all their sheep right here.

To Jewish Sections and Branches.

Wishire's leaflet, "Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists," has been translated into Jewish, and can now be had at \$1.25 per 1,000 or \$1.50, if sent by mail or express. Address all orders to

LABOR NEWS CO.,

64 East 4th Street, New York.

LABOR MOVEMENT AND SOCIALISM.

Socialists did not from the start understand the role, which the militant proletariat is called upon to fill in the Socialist movement. As a matter of course it was impossible for them to understand it so long as there was no militant proletariat in existence. Socialism is older than the class struggle of the proletariat. It is a contemporaneous appearance with the proletariat itself. The proletariat, however, had existed a long time before giving any indications of its independent existence. The first, and at that time the only, spring from which Socialism flowed was the COMPASSION which philanthropists of the upper classes felt for the poor and wretched. Among these philanthropists, the Socialists were the boldest and those who saw furthest ahead; they perceived clearly that the sources of the proletariat lay in the private ownership of the means of production, and they did not stick at drawing the fullest conclusions from these premises. Socialism at that time was the most earnest, far-seeing and magnificent expression of capitalist philanthropy. At that time there was no class interest which the Socialist could call upon in the battle for the realization of their aims; they could only appeal to the enthusiasm and pity of the idealists of their own and of the still higher classes; they sought to gain these over by captivating pictures of a Socialist community, and by forcible presentations of the existing misery among the masses. Not through struggle, but by peaceful methods of suasion were the rich and the mighty to be moved to furnish the means for the radical cure of misery and the establishment of the ideal society. It is well known that the Socialists of that time waited in vain upon the millionaires and princes from whose magnanimity the redemption of mankind was expected to come.

During the first decades of our century the proletariat began to give signs of life. Before the thirties, the first inceptions of a Labor Movement were noticed in the United States; in the thirties strong movements started in France, and especially in England.

These manifestations were meaningless to the Socialists of those days. They did not think it possible that the poor, ignorant, rude proletarians could ever attain the moral elevation and social power requisite to put through Socialist aspirations. But it was not only lack of confidence that the Labor Movement inspired them with; it furthermore disturbed their calculations; it threatened to rob them of what they considered a most effective weapon in their arguments in favor of Socialism. These capitalist Socialists could hope to convince the sensitive members of their own class of the necessity of Socialism only if it was shown to them that it was the only means whereby to alleviate misery; that every attempt to do so and to improve the condition of the propertyless classes under the existing social system was vain; and that it was impossible for the proletarians to raise themselves by their own efforts. The Labor Movement, however, proceeded from premises that stood in contradiction to this mode of reasoning. Nor was this all. The class struggle between proletarians and capitalists embittered, as a matter of course, the latter against the former. In the eyes of the capitalist class the proletariat had been transformed from unhappy people, worthy of pity, who shall be helped, into a pack of miscreants that should be beaten and kept down. Forthwith the principal source of Socialism, compassion for the poor and wretched, began to dry up. The tenets themselves of Socialism no longer looked to the frightened capitalist class as a harmless toy, but as a most dangerous weapon that might possibly fall into the hands of the people, and do no end of mischief. In short, the stronger the Labor Movement became, the more difficult also became the Socialist propaganda among the ruling classes, and the more hostile grew the attitude of these against Socialism itself.

So long as the Socialists were of the opinion that the means whereby to reach the aims of Socialism had to come from the upper classes, they could not choose but look upon the Labor Movement, not only with suspicion, but also with decided hostility, and they naturally inclined to the belief that nothing was so hurtful to the cause of Socialism as the class struggle.

The unsympathetic attitude of the early Socialists towards the Labor Movement did, naturally, not fail to influence the attitude of the latter towards Socialism. If the uprising portion of the proletariat could find in those Socialists no support in its struggles, but met only with opposition; if their tenets threatened to discourage it, instead of firing it on; nothing was, under such circumstances, more natural than that the working class should be possessed with a very general feeling of antipathy for all the teachings of Socialism, and not only for their application to the existing struggles. This antipathy was furthermore promoted by the lack of information and the thoughtlessness that marked the first beginnings of the uprising of the proletariat. On the one hand, the narrow horizon that bounded their vision made it difficult for them to comprehend the final aims of Socialism; on the other they still lacked a clear understanding of Social conditions, and of the mission of their class; they acted responsive only to a vague CLASS INSTINCT, which taught them to look with suspicion upon everything that proceeded from the capitalist class, and, accordingly, also upon the Socialism of their time, as well as upon the whole philanthropy of capitalism. It is owing to this circumstance, that in many a labor organization a strong dislike was, at the time, conceived for Socialism; this was especially the case in England, and it is owing thereto, together with many other causes, that until recently the English workman was almost inaccessible to the Socialists, although the attitude of modern Socialism towards the Labor Movement was a very different one from that of the capitalist utopians who preceded them.

For all that, however wide the chasm was, at a time, have been between the militant proletariat and Socialism, the latter corresponds so much to the requirements of the more clearly thinking proletarians, that even in such places where the masses were hostile to Socialism, the clearest heads among the working class gladly turned to it as

far as they had become acquainted with its principles. It was through the action of these more gifted workmen that the views of the capitalist Socialists first experienced an important transformation. Differently from these utopians, these workmen were not restricted by any regard for the capitalist class, which they hated and fought bitterly. Accordingly that early and peaceful Socialism of the capitalist utopians, which expected to bring on the redemption of mankind through the instrumentality of the best elements of the upper classes, was imperceptibly transformed into a violent revolutionary sort of Socialism, the success of which was to be the work of good strong proletarian fists.

But no more than that of the utopians, did this wild "Labor-Socialism" comprehend the Labor Movement; it also was hostile to the class struggle, that is to say, to its highest, its POLITICAL FORM, although both arrived at the same erroneous conclusions through very different paths. In point of scientific knowledge, this wild, early "Labor-Socialism" was inferior to the utopians. The proletariat is at best able to appropriate only a fraction of the knowledge that the upper classes have brought forth, and to digest and apply it to his own uses; so long as he remains a proletarian he lacks both leisure and means to carry science beyond the point which it reached under the guidance of the upper classes. Accordingly, the wild "Labor-Socialism" that succeeded that of the utopians could not help carrying some of the essential marks of utopianism; it had not the remotest inkling of the economic development, which brings together the material elements for Socialist production, and which trains and matures through the class struggle that class which is called upon to take possession of those elements, and with them to develop a new Social system. The same as the capitalist utopians, these proletarians believed that a social system was an edifice that could be built at will according to a previously agreed plan, provided only the means and the place to do it in were forthcoming. These utopian proletarians, who were as vigorous and daring as they were naive, did not doubt their power to take care of their social edifice. Of course they expected no millionaire or prince to aid them; it was expected that a forcible revolution should furnish the requisite means for the enterprise, tear down the old edifice, annihilate the old powers and hand the dictatorship over to the inventor or group of inventors of the new plan; according to them, a new Messiah was to rear the edifice of Socialist society.

In this system of reasoning the class struggle could have no place. The proletarian utopians suffered too much from the misery into which they were thrown not to be impatient for its immediate abolition. Even if they had considered it possible that the class struggle could gradually uplift the proletariat and enable it to carry on the further development of society, this process would have seemed to them too slow and round about. They stood at the threshold of the Labor Movement; the sections of the proletariat that were taking a hand in it were insignificant; and, furthermore, among these few fighters there were still fewer who had anything in view except the protection of their immediate interests. To educate the masses of the people into thinking Socialists seemed hopeless. The only thing that these masses seemed fit for was an outbreak of despair in which they would destroy what was, and thereby clear the path for the Socialists. The worse off the masses were, thus reasoned those early and infuriated "Labor-Socialists," the nearer would be the moment when their condition would become so unbearable to them that they would tear down the social upper structure that oppressed them. In the opinion of those Socialists, a struggle that contemplated the gradual uplifting of the working class was not only futile but positively harmful, because the slight improvements which the workmen might eventually gain would render the life of the masses bearable, and thereby put off the day when the existing social system would be torn down and misery abolished. Every form of the class struggle that did not aim at an immediate and complete overthrow of the existing order, that is to say, every earnest, gradually growing, effective form of the class struggle was looked upon by those men as nothing short of treason to the cause of humanity.

It is now more than half a century since this reasoning first made its appearance among the working class; Weiling, in Germany, was the most talented personification of this faith, a faith that has not yet died out. Its representatives are found among the ranks of every fresh battalion of workmen that joins the army of the militant proletariat; they are found in every country, whose proletarian population has begun to realize its degraded and unbearable condition, and to imbibe Socialist ideas without as yet possessing a clear comprehension of the situation, and without faith in its own powers to carry on a prolonged class struggle. Seeing that ever new layers of the proletariat rise from the mire into which the economic development has pushed them; and seeing that ever new countries are subjected to the capitalist system of production, and, consequently, also to the turning of its people into proletarians, it is easily explained how the opinions of the old utopian Labor-Socialists are constantly bobbing up anew. Such "Socialism" if it can at all be called "Socialism," is a sort of infant's disease, that threatens every new Socialist proletarian movement that has not yet outgrown the utopian stage.

In modern times this sort of Socialism is frequently designated as ANARCHY, but it is by no means necessarily connected therewith. Seeing that it does not arise from thought, but that it is only an instinctive revolt against existing conditions, it is not reconcilable with any system of social theories. Nevertheless, the fact is undeniable that in our own days the raw and violent reformers of the old proletarian school are generally found hand-in-glove with the otherwise very coy, tender and flabby Anarchists from the "refined" middle classes. Nor is this surprising. However great, in fact or in appearance, may be the differences between the two, there is one point on which they are absolutely at one, to wit, antipathy for, and even hatred of the highest and most intelligent form of the class struggle—THE POLITICAL STRIFE.

No more than the utopian Socialists

of the upper classes were the early proletarian reformers able to overcome the antagonism that existed originally between Socialism and the Labor Movement. True enough, the proletarian utopians were, occasionally, compelled to take a hand in the class struggle, but being devoid of any theoretical knowledge, their occasional participation in the class struggle did not mature into a consolidation of Socialism with the Labor Movement, but in the suppression of the former by the latter. It is a notorious fact that wherever Anarchism, of whatever stamp, takes hold of the Labor Movement and does temporarily enter upon the class struggle, it sooner or later, despite all its seeming radicalism, winds up in trades unionism "pure and simple" with all the impurity, corruption and retrogression that the term implies.

CORRESPONDENCE.

De Toqueville's Estimate.

To THE PEOPLE:—The editorial "Coming Out of Their Shells," of Aug. 22, in which it claims the capitalists have always tried to hide their identity as capitalists from the working class, is verified by De Toqueville in his work entitled "Democracy in America," written in 1848. It is important to remember that he wrote this from observations while on a visit in the United States, and was an aristocrat himself, thus having the best opportunities to learn the workings within "their shells."

Says this author in Vol. I., page 228: "Mark, for instance, that opulent citizen who is as anxious as a Jew of the Middle Ages to conceal his wealth. His dress is plain, his demeanor unassuming; but the interior of his dwelling glitters with luxuries, and none but a few chosen guests, whom he haughtily strays into his sanctuary, nor European noble is more exclusive in his pleasures or more zealous of the smallest advantage which a privileged station confers. But the same individual crosses the city to reach a dark country house in the centre of traffic, where every one may accost him who pleases. If he meets his cobbler upon the way they stop and converse; the two citizens discuss the affairs of the State and shake hands before they part. But beneath this artificial enthusiasm and these obsequious attentions to the preponderating power (the workingman) it is easy to perceive the rich have a hearty dislike of the democratic institutions of their country. The people form a power which they (the capitalists) at once fear and despise. If the maladministration of the Democracy ever brings about a revolutionary crisis, the truth of what I advance will become obvious."

At that time, 1848, the capitalist would brush this aside by saying "every poor man in this country has an equal chance to become a capitalist." There was a grain of truth in this, but the chances even then were about as slim as a chance in the Louisiana lottery. But to-day they do not exist at all. How would it sound for the capitalist politician and labor fakirs to tell the striking miners they have an equal chance to become capitalists. Why, "President" Radford is moving heaven and earth with only one object in view, and that is enough of bread to fill the miners' stomachs, for he says they are fighting for "living wages." "Living wages" simply means a living. And a mule gets a "living."

What a tremendous change. Instead of holding out to the toiler the prospects of becoming a capitalist, they now have nothing to offer him except what is furnished a mule—a living. And even this they have to fight for like so many wolves fight over a dead carcass.

In the face of all this the man who will ignore the class struggle is either a knave or as blind as a bat. The platform of the Debs party, otherwise Social Democracy of America, totally ignores the class struggle. But worse still, instead of telling the capitalists to stand off, Debs, its founder, goes around among the capitalists with contribution box begging them to throw in some of their stolen wealth to send the starving toilers into the wilderness to clear up more forests when there is more cultivated land than will supply every need.

C. R. DAVIS.

Brighton, Ill., August 25.

KNOCKED OUT AGAIN.

(Continued from Page 1.)

answer the points made against the single tax, because, said he, Mr. Fry had left them in a rather ridiculous condition. The audience took a vote on it and granted the request. Then Mr. Pupoon explained that the single tax "actually was no tax," but would be used to maintain the government, and that if the commercial value would be destroyed the use value would still be there.

Comrade Fry was allowed to answer. He said in substance that the last remark was merely a juggling with words. That first the single taxers were going to tax the rental value; then, if driven to the corner, the use value. That such a thing is as ridiculous as taxing the air; the use value of land is the same in the heart of the city as out in the country.

The crowd gave us the palm; the single taxers looked foolish.

I should not close this report without stating that what a member that Section St. Louis recently well styled the "Stygian Sheet," the "Tageblatt," has passed out of existence. It is now united with the "Abendpost," the afternoon edition of the "Anzeiger des Westens," and it is now expounding the good points in the "Chicago Platform." United fakir-dom, led by the "purple-faced and pimple-nosed" brigade, led it into the ground.

PETER SCHWIETE.

A STREET SCENE.

(Continued from Page 1.)

more passes, but was interrupted by shouts of laughter, many present asking in a sympathetic tone if he was sick. The platform was taken apart, and the crowd dispersed. I met the speakers later on, and had quite a discussion, showing them that they were no better for the workingman than any other capitalist. A large crowd gathered and gazed and jeered them unmercifully at the same time cheering the Socialist Labor party. They told me I had been sent by some political party to disturb the meeting.

CHARLES RATHKOPF.

UNITING FORCES IN ORDER TO GET JOBS.

The other day while going across the bridge I met a friend of mine, who inquired whether I was engaged that night. I replied in the negative, adding that the "New York Dispatch," as well as its rivals, gave out but few assignments now. One or two college graduates (who work for just sufficient to pay their board), augmented by the Police Departments of the two cities, gathered all the best news for the papers embraced in that great trust, The Associated Press. Reporters, therefore, were an evil to be abraded and abolished by the newspaper proprietors, as they had the temerity to ask for wages which the average mechanic would scorn. My friend replied that he was sorry to hear that; but on the other hand, he was glad that he had met me, as he could give me information that might result in my getting a "scoop" for the paper I represented.

An organization was to be formed that night in his neighborhood, he stated, for the purpose of uniting the voters of "both political parties" into one body. When this was accomplished the organization would demand instant recognition at the hands of that political party which they thought most likely to win at the coming election. If refused, they would turn to the other party and dicker with them. By such means, the designers considered, they would be able to place every member in a political position, if he wished one.

Thinking a report of the proceedings of such a unique organization would make a good story, and at the same time be a beat on our particular rival, the "New York Dispatch," I immediately thanked him and wended my way thither, arriving just as the gentleman who had been elected to the position of president was about to make his inaugural address.

The address was as follows:

Fellow Citizens:—It gives me great pleasure to stand before you to-night as president of this organization. (Hear, hear.) I do not know of any position which would give me as great an opportunity to point out to my fellowmen the way to better their condition and the right way in which to go to work about it. This organization intends to look after its members, protect them in their rights, see that they are not imposed upon, and eventually place them in those offices which they think themselves competent to fill with dignity, honor and usefulness to the community and with honor and profit to themselves. (Hear, hear.)

This organization is going to be a bigger thing than you think. It is going to revolutionize things politically. Instead of us running after the boss of the city or the ward for that reward which rightly belongs to every man who has worked for the good of his party through our membership in this organization, the bosses will be compelled to run after us! These persons will beg us to accept offices in exchange for our support, and it will be for you to decide whether the positions they offer are worthy of our acceptance. Do not think for an instant, though, that half a dozen small offices will suffice for the whole of this organization. We want an office for every member who can be prevailed upon to take one. (Hear, hear.)

Now, there may be some here who do not believe this object can be accomplished. If so, let me tell them something. In this hall there are between four and five hundred men. We will assume that they are all members. Now, remember what I am going to tell you.

The Mayor of Brooklyn controls about five or six thousand political positions. Now, we could not fill one-tenth of those offices with our members. But we will exact for our share the best of them, and don't you forget it! The other fellows can scramble for those we leave. And as the Mayor of Brooklyn controls that number, how many will the Mayor of Greater New York control? Five times that number? Yes, and more than that! Then may I ask how many offices the Governor controls? How many the President and his cabinet control? Why, they are innumerable—as the stars in the milky way. Then what's the matter with the members of this organization filling a few of them?

"Dat's what's de matter!" yelled a young cub at the door. He was immediately seized by the choleric doorkeeper, cuffed and hustled outside, where he could be heard wailing, and between his sobs crying out: "I didn't do no nuffin! What didjer hit me fer? Hit one yer own size, yer big stuff!" Then the slam of a door and a hurried movement outside was heard, while the voice was heard at a distance berating the irate doorkeeper while its owner retreated.

"Gentlemen," the president then resumed, "there's no reason at all why we should not be able to obtain an office for every one of our members if we will do but one thing—stick together through thick and thin. Unite! Let us be as one man! Our future will then be in our own hands. No more running after and trying to curry favor with bosses! No more doing the dirty work of politicians! No! They shall come to us; beg us to support their ticket. And we will do it? Nit! Unless we have the written guarantees of the leaders of the party and the candidates themselves that we shall obtain those political offices which we demand. No funny business. No civil service humbug.

Thus shall we be strong, free and independent. The eyes of the whole country will be on us. They will be watching us from afar; from every corner of the land. Then from every section of the State, of the country, the cry will go up: "As goes Brooklyn, so goes the election."

At the conclusion of the president's address there was great applause, after which the other officers were called on for a speech. Some acceded to the request, while others did not have the ground that they did not have the "gift of the gab," but that they were "workers"—a word that seemed to please the majority of the audience, if the laughter it evoked was any criterion. These officers did not state, however, whom or what they were going to work; whether it was the city, the State or the general government, the different candidates or the members themselves. One man in the audience said that he "hoped they would not

'work' the organization," which caused general laughter, followed by many a wink of the eye and shrug of the shoulders on the part of the audience.

The treasurer was one of those who made a speech, and as it was a unique one, I here transcribe it:

He began by telling the audience that it was about time they and all workingmen looked out for themselves. "Everybody is looking out for himself nowadays," he said, "why should not we; why should not all workingmen?" (Cheers.)

"Millionaires, multimillionaires, railroad magnates, bankers, merchants, corporation lawyers and every small fry pettifogger; judges, district attorneys and the police, all the way down from the Commissioner to the probationary 'cop' were looking after themselves, and honestly or dishonestly striving to get the best of some other fellow! Then why should not we?"

Here there occurred a great outburst of enthusiasm—cheering, shouting, clapping of hands and pounding on the floor.

"President Cleveland has looked after himself."

A great roar of laughter here went up, interspersed with cries of "How much did he make out of the bond sale?" "How much did Morgan give him?" "How much is he worth now?" "How did he become a millionaire?" "Through saving his salary?" To all of which the treasurer replied not a word.

"President Cleveland," he reiterated, "has looked after himself. Olney looked after himself; Carlisle did the same; so did all the Senators, Congressmen, Governors, State Senators, Assemblymen, mayors, aldermen, bosses and politicians in general. They all looked after themselves and left the workingmen to go to the devil. I am tired of this; ain't you?"

"You bet!" came in a chorus from the audience.

"Well, then, why not look after ourselves? Let every man look after himself, I say."

Here he was interrupted by what one of the subsequent speakers termed "an obtuse, lunk-headed galoot," who asked the speaker whether, if this idea (looking after oneself) were acted upon and placed on the minutes, it would not necessitate a member to walk backward, or to look over his own shoulder while walking in the usual way, so that he could do as the speaker suggested: "look after himself."

The Treasurer could not "catch on" to what was meant by the questioner, so asked to have the question repeated, which was done, much to the chagrin of the audience. But from one quarter of the room in which there appeared to be located a large number of the treasurer's friends, the question was received with fierce scowls, and a chorus of voices exclaimed in a vehement manner, though loud enough to be heard only by those in front: "The ———"

This little incident seemed to irritate the Treasurer, and he did not seem to be quite so cheerful or loquacious as before. He appeared to forget where he was, what he was doing, and what he was saying, while he looked intently at the door as if to derive some assistance from his shattered nerves from the outside of the hall. In a little while he started in again, and going over what he had formerly said, he finally wound up by telling them that it was their duty "to look after themselves first, last and all the time. Look after yourselves—no one else will. I intend to look after myself for the future, and not depend upon others. You do the same. Let every one do the same. And I hereby publicly declare that as long as I am treasurer of your organization I will look after myself and the interests of tell you."

Here an ominous silence fell over the entire audience, broken at last by the same unquotable language, previously used, directed toward the obtuse individual who had interrupted the speaker. One of the audience then arose and stated that he hoped the treasurer would look after the money in the treasury as well as he would look after himself.

"You bet he will!" replied an earnest-looking individual in the centre of the hall.

There now arose a great deal of murmuring among the audience. From the remarks I heard there seemed to be some doubt as to what the treasurer meant when he stated that he would look after himself and "the interests of this organization." One more bold than the rest—a German, by his looks and language—addressing the president, asked:

"What for the treasurer say, 'Me look after mine-self' one already? He dake us for one tam fool! Is dot so! If he means' (here the speaker got quite agitated and raised his voice to the highest pitch) "to keep the toilers, the goat money we him pay and look himself after my mit id, me, myself, resign, oont my money me back dake. Ain'd id? Ain'd dot so? He dink we all tam vool—go crazy? Yah! Me guess so. Me no tam vool Deutschman, oont tond you vordig id, see?"

He then sat down, shaking his head while still making furious gestures toward the platform.

Before the president could reply to the question, a short, stout, young man rose up from out of the throng of the treasurer's friends, and turning to the questioner in the rear of the hall, said: "Say, youse fellers make me tired! When any fellow gets a soft snap, youse fellers are de first to call him down. Why, you'd call de Alderman down, under yer afraid, see! Why don't de other fellers call each other down? Yer didn't see de Senators ner Congressmen call Cleveland ner Carlisle down when dey made de deal wid dose bloated bondholders, didjer? Naw! Dose mugs has sine; dey has, see! And if dey had er called him down it 'ud been only for a fake. Dey knew dat Cleveland wanted to make a stake afore he got out of de White House, and dey wasn't goin' to give him away. Not on yer life! What was de dere fer? What was dey dere fer? Dose mugs don't go dere fer dere healt? Dey go dere to make a stake. Youse fellers 'ud do de same? 'ud I. Den what's yer kickin' about? Say, youse mugs make me tired fer fair, see!"

This unique speech did not cause the effect intended, for while some laughed, the majority looked stern. Five or six Germans, who were in a cluster near me, got very excited, and could hardly control themselves. Five of them stood up together and shouted "Mr. Chairman!" One of them got the floor, and said:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:—I do not think this audience came here tonight to be insulted and abused as it has been by the last speaker. ('Hear, hear,' from all parts of the hall.) For any man to say that we—including himself, of course—are a lot of thieves, and that we are only awaiting our opportunity to steal, is an outrage that should not be allowed to pass unrebuked, and it is an insult to every honest man here to-night. Gott und Himmel!"

Here he lost the English language and continued in the German until a point of order was made that he speak in English. He was about to do so, but his companions urged him to continue in his native tongue. To this there was a storm of objections, and quite a commotion was caused, augmented by the hammering of the table by the chairman. This proceeded for some time, and only subsided when the speaker, being tired out, sat down. Then from the rear of the hall a voice rang out stern and full:

"Mr. Chairman!"

There was no mistaking that voice when once heard. It was full, resonant, commanding. It was the voice of a man not to be trifled with; of a man who had something to say. The voice vibrated through one's entire system; it seemed to thrill one's entire system; all were quiet. The quietude seemed a minute ago. The clamor of a minute ago, all were quiet. The chairman never moved, never recognized him, but acted like one in a dream. Again the voice cried out "Mr. Chairman!" but in a lower tone. The chairman looked his way, pointed his gavel toward him and nodded. He then asked for the privilege of the floor for a few minutes. The chairman, still seeming to be in a comatose condition, nodded again. The speaker then began:

"It is some time since I attended a political meeting; some time since I gave any thought to politics. I have been thoroughly disgusted with politics; with the very name of the word. Politics at present, and for some time past, may be defined as a confidence game, in which the strong obtain everything and the weak go to the wall."

"For he that hath, to him shall be given; are the words of the Great Master. And this generation has interpreted this to mean money, property—that is, wealth; never thinking about mind, talents, genius and other attributes. Nowadays, however, the wealthy and the powerful do not wait to have anything given to them; they take it. And they take it with a recklessness and abandon that surprise even themselves—when they think of their depredations and look at the devastation they have made. To them it matters little who suffer so long as they enrich themselves."

"Laws are made only to be violated by those rich enough to retain prominent lawyers. These lawyers know where the loopholes are placed in every law that is passed against the wealthy lawbreaker. In the mind of every honest man (who takes notice of the enforcement and non-enforcement of the law) these loopholes would not be left if the laws were directed against the poor or the weak. No! If loopholes were left in the laws drafted against the workingman or the poor and inconspicuous lawbreaker, they (the loopholes) would be immediately detected. How they detect them before the judgment is passed, the errors in the laws directed against trusts, corporations, and all those who prey upon the public." ("Hear, hear!")

"Workingmen read and hear about these things; yet what do they do? They do the same as if everything was quite correct. They vote for the men and the parties responsible for this state of affairs year in and year out, and even quarrel and fight for them. Why? Because they will not reason over these things. They will not use the brains God Almighty gave them. They will turn from the Democratic to the Republican party, and vice versa, only to find out that the distinction between them is in the name alone. Republicans deceive them and Democrats delude them. But back next year they return, as a dog to his vomit, and hurrah and yell to have other deceptions practised upon them. And they get them." (This last sentence he said very slowly and emphatically.)

"Often have I meditated on the causes which lead workingmen to go regularly once a year to the shambles, as it were, to be slaughtered like innocents. Often have I wondered as to what course to pursue to open their minds to the fact that that ballot which they obtain every year, if used intelligently, will open a way to redress the grievances to which they are subjected; and if used stupidly, will keep them in that bondage of which they complain—where a breath can give them work, by which they and their families live, and a breath can take it away, when they and their children starve!"

"Often have I heard, prior to an election, workingmen expatiate on the glories of the party to which they belonged, or thought they belonged; and extol the abilities of the candidates of that party. And quite as frequently have I heard, after this party obtained power, these same men curse and condemn their own stupidity in once more allowing themselves to be cajoled, hoodwinked, bamboozled and sat upon! Yet the following election day would find them working might and main for the same or rival party; swearing and cursing, quarrelling and fighting, for it, and withal leading their fellow men (whose ignorance and stupidity was as dense and crass as their own) into the same trail. This they have been doing ever since they have had a vote; and this, many of them will continue to do so long as they are not starved outright. But the reward they received was their righteous due. They were laughed at, ridiculed, scorned, sat upon, spit upon and squelched by injunctions, rifle diet and militia bayonets. One would think that babes would have more wisdom; that fools and idiots would be surfeited with such a reward. Ah! But those poor creatures are not 'in it' with the voting workingman."

"Workingmen in this country see the liberty and the power of the individual, unless he be wealthy, grow weaker and weaker year after year; while the power and the license of the capitalists and combinations grow stronger and stronger. Yet they look on amazed, awe-struck, I may say, and inquire of each other: 'Where will it all end?'"

"They see factories or workshops of one particular industry, all over the country, shut down, and the employees thrown out of work. The following week they read that three-fourths of those factories will never be re-opened;

DIAMOND POINT COLD FOUNTAIN PEN can now be realized without cost.

We will send it free to anyone sending us three-yearly subscriptions at one dollar each. Will you take advantage of this unprecedented offer? Get a new yearly subscriber this, next and the following week, then send us \$3.00 and the pen is yours.

the remainder, with the aid of improved machinery and with one-third of the former help in the factories remaining, being sufficient to manufacture all the goods necessary for consumption.



GRAND LABOR DAY CELEBRATION Picnic and Summernight's Festival OF THE Central Labor Federation of Hudson County, MONDAY, September 6, 1897.

Kroebel's Boulevard Park, (Formerly Floral Park), West Hoboken. Cars stop near Entrance. MUSIC, DANCING, SPORTS, CHILDREN FREE. Tickets, 15 CENTS. Commence at 2 P. M. Strictly Union Arrangements. THE COMMITTEE.

looked after him, then arose, gave three ringing cheers, and followed. The men on the platform alone remained. Then the janitor came in to put out the lights, which induced them also to retire.

As for myself, when I transcribed these notes and wrote out a brief review of the proceedings and speeches and turned it into the editor, he glanced over it, thrust it into the wastebasket and said: "We want no more such articles as that. Mr. Nemo, beat or no beat! You know if I let such a story as that go into the paper where I'd be to-morrow morning—on the sidewalk."

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William Street, N. Y. NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary M. S. Hayes, 113 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

National Executive. At the meeting held August 31st Comrade Matchett was elected to the chair. Malkiel and Furman were absent and excused. The financial report for the week ending August 28th showed receipts to the amount of \$131.85; expenditures, \$153.33; deficit, \$21.48.

The New Charter Publishing Association of San Francisco submits a revised copy of its constitution and by-laws, and reports the election of M. W. Wilkins as editor of the "New Charter." The conditions of the National Executive Committee having been complied with, it was decided to recognize the "New Charter" as an official organ of the party, also to confirm the election of the editor.

The means of the Executive Committee being inadequate for the numerous demands for agitation made upon the committee, and in view of the readiness with which our speakers are received, it was decided to open in the party organs a subscription for a GENERAL AGITATION FUND. The regular income of the Executive Committee is insufficient for the proper working of the field, which was never so promising as it is now, and it is to be hoped that all friends of the cause will contribute their share.

A charter was granted for Section Lima, Ohio. HENRY STAHL, Rec. Secy. pro tem.

Minnesota. DULUTH, August 23.—Hurrah for Section Duluth! On the 20th of this month we held a meeting here and organized Section Duluth with fifteen members, all excellent timber. Comrade Lee, of Section Minneapolis, was the speaker. He presented the cause in such an able manner as to win him the cheers and applause of his, at first, cold listeners, who asked a good many questions, all of which were instantly answered, to the discomfort of the doubters. In fact it was one of the ablest and deepest speeches yet delivered in this city. It aroused much enthusiasm. Comrade Lee's subject was mainly along the lines of industrial depressions and machinery. He showed plainly that we were not "free-born Americans," but slaves whose chains are rapidly tightening, and that capitalism was "hanging itself," and that the crash is inevitable.

As this meeting was in the same hall in which the local Trades Assembly meet, and some members were present, Comrade Lee took pains to make things clear to them, and also rubbed it into "labor fakirs" in general.

By actual count there were 114 people present—a large increase over the number at Comrade De Leon's meeting seven years ago.

Buffalo and Erie County Nominations. NOTICE.—A primary for the purpose of nomination of candidates of the Socialist Labor party for offices to be filled in Erie County this coming election will be held Monday, September 13th, at 7 p. m. sharp, at the Labor Lyceum, 550 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y.

A primary for the purpose of nomination of general city candidates of the Socialist Labor party will be held Monday, September 13th, at 8 p. m. sharp, at the Labor Lyceum, 550 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y.

All Comrades and Socialist voters are invited to be present on time as the work of the primaries must be over by 9 o'clock.

THE COUNTY COMMITTEE, S. L. P. S. L. P. Sections take Notice. The well-known and inspiring song, written by comrade Peter E. Burrows, of Brooklyn, under the title "The Hand with the Hammer," has been set to new and beautiful music by the Russian composer Platon Brunnoff, and can now be had at the Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth Street, New York.

The price for single copies is 10 cents, but a liberal discount will be given to dealers, encouraging them to push the sale of the song.

No section of the party should fail to form a chorus and sing this song at their public meetings and other public demonstrations.

THE LABOR NEWS CO., 64 East 4th Street, N. Y.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1. (CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate L. Pomranz, of the Pressmen and Feeders' Union, was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A., and Delegate H. Rubin, of the German Waiters' Union No. 1, was vice-chairman.

In the absence of Recording Secretary J. B. Clayton, Max Sontheimer was elected pro tem. A letter from B. Feigenbaum was read and filed.

The Arbitration Committee reported having called upon W. Flatz, proprietor of Ebling's Casino, who, without cause, locked out the members of German Waiters' Union No. 1, whom he had employed for the past ten years, and engaged members of the Germania Waiters' Prot. Association instead. Mr. Flatz declared that one Meisel and one Johnson had called upon him, stating that they represented the Central Labor Union, American Federation of Labor and Brewers' Union, and demanded the employment of the Germania Waiters in the future. Mr. Flatz further stated that he received numerous letters from the C. L. U. containing a like request. During the conversation it appeared that Mr. Flatz was of the opinion that he could do more business through the American Federation of Labor and Brewers' Union and other conservative unions. The report was adopted.

The delegate to the conference of Hebrew unions reported that a continued session would be held Sunday, September 5th, 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th Street.

The committee which visited the Carl Sahn Club reported that a special meeting was called for Tuesday, August 31st, to consider the Typographical case.

German Waiters' Union No. 1 reported receiving a circular of the United Hall and Ball Room Proprietors' Association, signed by "Aber Nit" Herrman Sulzer as secretary, requesting the endorsement of William Sohmer as a candidate for Mayor. The union answered "Aber Nit!"

The same union reported further that a circular was received alleged to be from the Independent German-American Waiters' and Bartenders' Association, 107 East 3d Street, in which the bosses were offered "first-class help." The union desires to announce that this conglomeration is a scheme of one M. Landau, who tries thereby to cover up his vampire aspirations. Relative to the Flatz Ebling's Casino matter, the union requested that a boycott be levied inasmuch as the special meeting of the General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A., sanctioned the boycott if placed by the C. L. F., the same was unanimously passed. It was resolved to notify the City Executive Committee, S. L. P., of this, and also the various Assembly Districts, and request that the same be earnestly pushed.

Bohemian Butchers' Union No. 1 reported that they had a very successful parade and demonstration last Sunday, although the president had been summoned to court on some alleged grievance by one Aaron Roth, representing a "Meat Cutters and Butchers' Union No. 15," who thereby attempted to prevent the said demonstration, but ignominiously failed.

Section Greater New York, S. L. P., reported holding its meetings every second and fourth Saturday in the month hereafter.

Progressive Typographical Union reported organizing shops, and that the Hebrew-American Typo. Union follows up its committees by committees.

Pressmen and Feeders' Union endorsed the strike of the Paper Cigarette Makers. They protest against the false reports issued by the Bill Posters, Chorus Union and Carl Sahn Club.

Requests to be organized were received from the Children Jacket-Makers' Union and Shirt Ironers and Laundry Workers. They were referred to the Organization Committee with instruction to confer with D. A. No. 2.

It was resolved to push the Mixed Trade Alliance and Drill Corps by inserting an advertisement in THE PEOPLE, "New York Volks Zeitung" and "Abendblatt," calling upon Comrades to join.

It was announced that the Theoretical Protective Union had increased its initiation fee from \$50 to \$100.

The delegates were urged to agitate during the week for the C. L. F. Labor Day Picnic at J. Woll's Schuetzen Park, which will be celebrated this Monday, September 6th. The committees must be at the park by 2 p. m.

All unions desirous of having their flag displayed at the park will deliver same to A. Waldinger, 64 East 4th Street, no later than Friday.

New Haven, Conn. Comrade F. Serrin, 21 Nash Street, is now agent for THE PEOPLE. Make your payments to him.

Milwaukee, Wis. Comrade J. Rummel, 310 18th Street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

Annual Picnic and Summernight's Festival OF THE CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION (D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A.) ON LABOR DAY, Monday, Sept. 6, at J. NOLL'S SCHUETZEN PARK, Boston Road, near 169th Str.

THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND. Amount Pledged down to August 24th, 1897. \$4,565.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of his right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule. Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children. Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural cause of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crisis on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, individual war and social disorder; a common wealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

- RESOLUTIONS. With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands: 1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production. 2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons. 3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons. 4. The public lands to be declared inalienable, Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with. 5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money. 6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country. 7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt. 8. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary. 9. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination. 10. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system. 11. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation). 12. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed. 13. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law. 14. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle. 15. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists. 16. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers. 17. Municipal self-government. 18. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced. 19. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies. 20. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

Trades and Societies Calendar. Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum.

Carl Sahn Club (Musicians Union), meets every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th Street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei. Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. No. 1), meets at 230 every Sunday afternoon at 4 East 4th Street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th Street, New York City.

Cigar-makers' Progressive International Union No. 90, Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th Street, District I (Bohemian), 324 East 71st Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 157 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd Avenue, at 8 p. m. Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th Street. Secretary: HENRY ZINKE.

German Waiters' Union of New York, Office: 43 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st Floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall. Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028, D. A. No. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters: 79 E. 4th Street. Meetings every Friday at 10 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Secy.; Residence, 173 E. 4th St. Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 8 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 70 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. Scandinavian Section, S. L. P., meets every Sunday at 2 o'clock every month at 23 East St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBEITAREN. Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 54th St., 18th Ave. D. N. E. Cor. of 3d Ave. and 149th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Upholsterers' Union of New York and Vicinity. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th St. Secretary: Carl Andler, 27 East 3rd Street. WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance. Organized 1872. Membership 10,000. Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity. OFFICE: 64 E. 4th St. OFFICE HOURS, daily, except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 6 o'clock P. M. BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, N. Y., Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River, Passaic, N. J., Boston, Holyoke, Mass., New Haven and Waterbury, Conn., Luzern and Altoona, Pa.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Vor. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America. The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and social thought. Its numerical strength (64 percent composed of 129 local branches with more than 13,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 55 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, unless they are discharged with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive only the same benefits as to length of time \$5.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$20.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the same benefits upon the payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 25 workmen. The following are invited to meet in the above named principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 35-37 2nd Ave., Room 25, New York City.

BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM, 949-955 Wuloughby Av. (Formerly 61-63 Myrtle Street.) Meeting Rooms. Large Hall for Mass Meetings. Books open for Balls and Pic-Nics. Workmen! Patronize Your Own Home! DR. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST, 121 SCHERMORHORN ST., BROOKLYN, N. Y. HILLKOWITZ & HILLQUIT, Attorneys at Law, 220 Broadway. Rooms 1214-1216.

JOHN OEHLER'S Steam Printing. 87 Frankfort Street 87 Cor. Pearl St. Franklin Square E. R. R. Station. Orders will be taken at 116 E. 8th Street, between Avenue A and First Ave., New York City. I. Goldman's Printing Office, cor. New Chambers and William Sts. works with Type Setting Machine. German and English.

Socialist Tracts. Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms \$1.50 per thousand: 1. "What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to workmen, by Henry Kuhn. 2. "Socialism," by William Watkins. 3. "Why American workmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Willshire. 4. "Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton. 5. "Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England." 6. "A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt. 7. "Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party." 8. "The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages: English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish). 9. "The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price 1 cent per copy. 1,000 copies \$5.00. 10. "Reform or Revolution," by Daniel DeLeon. 5 cents a copy. Send your order to New York Labor News Co., 64 East 4th Street, New York, N. Y.